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TO: ALL FIELD STATIONS CONCERNED

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FROM: [REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: Attached Exchange Paper, entitled "Further Evidence on Stalin's Role in Current Party Indoctrination" (E-12)

1. The attached paper is the second and final in the series begun with "Stalin's Role in Current Party Indoctrination and Recruitment" (E-11).

2. It is suggested that, in transmitting the paper, it be pointed out to the recipient that we should like to receive reports on the local situation insofar as significant changes concerning the pattern presented can be observed.

3. Such changes should include:

- (a) disappearance of Stalin's writing from Party indoctrination;
- (b) emergence of new Party textbooks;
- (c) increasing use of Stalin's works.

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FURTHER EVIDENCE ON STALIN'S ROLE IN CURRENT
PARTY INDOCTRINATION

1. Since publication of the study entitled "Stalin's Role in Current Party Indoctrination and Recruitment," dated June, 1953, additional evidence has been sorted out with respect to the continuing treatment afforded Stalin in the international Communist movement. This evidence provides a supplement to the previous conclusion that Stalin's role as a master theoretician was still being acknowledged and cemented throughout the Communist world some months after his death. Since publication of the June study, there has been evidence of a change in the degree of treatment afforded Stalin as an individual leader, but there has appeared no open refutation of his basic theories or of Soviet policy formulated during his regime.

2. In general, the more current evidence pictures Stalin as one of the four apostles of Communism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, and now Stalin. Of these four, Lenin receives an especially high elevation placing him above the others. As the emphasis on Stalin as an individual leader has declined, emphasis on Lenin has increased. The most consistent theme in the current treatment afforded Stalin is his role as disciple and continuer of Lenin's teachings. Lenin is being freshly glorified as the father, the founder, the true leader of the Communist Party. Current direct references to Stalin or to his works are increasingly meager. This paucity of reference appears to result not only from the fresh emphasis on Lenin but also from the policy adopted by the new Soviet rulers to stress "collective leadership" and combat the "cult of the individual."

3. Collective leadership and the undesirability of the cult of the individual were particularly stressed in the July, 1953 Pravda article, "Fifty Years of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1903-1953" and in the lead article "Collective Way--Highest Principle of Leadership in Communist and Workers Parties," appearing in the Cominform Journal of 4 September 1953. The publication of the Pravda anniversary article at the end of July seemed to mark the moment when the position of Stalin as an individual leader was fixed. Referring to the post-Lenin period, this article stated, "The CP, under the leadership of the CC, headed by J. V. Stalin, the great continuer of V. I. Lenin's work, routed the traitors.... and took the firm course of building socialism." Also..."Generalizing the wealth of experience in building socialism.....J. V. Stalin creatively developed the Marxism-Leninism doctrine in application to new historical conditions and enriched revolutionary theory with new theses on many questions." Stalin was added to the collective of dead leaders: he shares a tomb with Lenin. His name appeared in conjunction with those of Marx-Engels-Lenin in the title of the highest CPSU school, the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute which is under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee of the CPSU. His teachings began to be referred to as "the wise teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin" or "the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin." This "collectivity" implied a diminished status.

4. Stalin has not only been relegated to a position inferior to Lenin but the emphasis on collectivity has been made retroactive--accomplishments formerly attributed to Stalin personally are now credited

to Party leadership. The 15th anniversary of the publication of his "Short History of the CPSU" was virtually ignored by Soviet propaganda in comparison to treatment of past anniversaries. The first anniversary of the publication of his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" was likewise unobserved by Soviet radio and press. Upon the first anniversary of the 19th Congress of the CPSU, Stalin's role in that Congress went largely unnoticed in Soviet media. The Party is pictured consistently as the leading and guiding force in Soviet history and society. To date, even the current Soviet leaders receive a prominence only in connection with their official actions.

5. Despite the treatment of Stalin as an individual, however, there is no real evidence that the CPSU intends to deviate from Stalin's ideologies. Stalin's doctrines evidently remain a part of current Communist dogma. There is evidence to indicate that his works continue to underline Party indoctrination regardless of the decline in personal reference. It is obvious, however, that his policies and strategy will not be specifically credited to him. It seems possible that some of the writings attributed to him previously, such as his "Short History", may undergo certain revisions as the new Soviet leaders continue to minimize Stalin's personal role. There is no evidence as yet that policy revisions will be undertaken. It will be recalled that the previous study demonstrated that a thorough indoctrination in certain works by Stalin, particularly his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" was being systematically undertaken by Communist Parties everywhere. There has been no definitive evidence that this indoctrination has been rescinded or, as yet, replaced.

6. Little information has been noted of the various Stalin "recruitment" drives discussed in the previous study. This situation may result from the desire to minimize the use of Stalin's name as well as from failures to achieve noteworthy recruitments. The French L'Humanite still referred to the Stalin "Promotion" drive in early July. Also in early July a Party meeting in Brazil heard exhortations to go forward under the "Stalin Recruitment Plan." This plan is still being implemented. The Cominform Journal of 7 August 1953 referred to the Stalin recruitment campaign of the Italian Communist Party which claimed great successes. In Colombia, a Stalin Enrollment for new militants was reported to be underway in August.

7. On the whole, then, the major change noted to date in Stalin's role in current Party indoctrination has been one of increasing individual anonymity but with no discernible change in acceptance of his basic theories and strategy. The Yugoslav press, on the other hand, has maintained that the rewriting of Stalin's doctrine has already begun, particularly of his famous short history. Politika claimed that the Pravda anniversary article containing new theses of the history of the CPSU differs considerably from the old text of "A Short Course in the History of the CPSU". It stated that certain of the new theses actually charge Stalin with responsibility for the attempts to achieve absolute power, such as those of Beria. The removal of Stalin's name from the pedestal is obvious and the settling of accounts with Beria is directly connected with the condemnation of a system. Politika thinks that the squeezing out of

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Stalin's name from the pages of Soviet history will cause a flood of new questions among the Soviet people and among those who have been doing an insufficient amount of thinking so far. All of them know the "short course" and will also read the new theses. It will be very difficult to limit and regulate the opinion of each individual. Politika emphasized that the magic of Stalin's name, which concealed the controversies in the Soviet Union, is disappearing. Once the magic is gone, the truth will have to reveal itself. (Belgrade broadcast quoting a press review 6 August 1953; this item is representative of the treatment afforded Stalin's current role by the Yugoslav Communist media.)

8. That some confusion may exist with respect to the overt treatment of Stalin's works is indicated by the contrasting attitudes toward the "Short History" taken in East Germany by the Neues Deutschland and the Taegliche Rundschau on the same day. On 1 October, the Soviet-controlled Taegliche Rundschau published a eulogy of Stalin's "Short History" which contained the old time cliches of Stalin veneration. Also on 1 October, the SED-controlled Neues Deutschland cautioned against assuming that the "Short History" offered a prescription for all. In an article on the "Short History" and the theses of "Fifty Years of the CPSU", this newspaper pointed out that no textbook can take the place of the study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the decrees and reports of Party conferences and Central Committees. It declared that the "Short History" is one guide to study but it is not the entire study; it arranges a necessary understanding for the connection. This attitude

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seemed to echo the lead article in the Cominform Journal of 4 September wherein the world experience of the CPSU was offered for inspiration; mention of the "Short History" was omitted in this summation which spoke of the Rules of the CPSU, the decisions of the Congresses and meetings of the Central Committee, and the theses of "Fifty Years of the CPSU".

9. Concluding this series, it is suggested that continuing attention be paid to the actual use of Stalin's writings in the indoctrination program of Communist Parties within and outside the orbit. Although it is believed, on the basis of this current series, that Stalin's writings continue to be part and parcel of Communist indoctrination materials (in spite of the "new look" publicity treatment afforded him as an individual leader), the disappearance of his works from training and indoctrination curricula would be significant and report-worthy.

To venture an opinion, we believe it unlikely that such a trend will develop, simply because the Communist leadership can ill afford to admit or make a break in the continuity of the unfolding of the movement, and also because it still can make propagandistic hay with the proper use of "the great Stalin," particularly outside the USSR where the terroristic aspects of his regime were not experienced directly. Evidence to the contrary, we shall assume that in the period covered by this paper, Stalin's position was fixed (see above, paragraph 3) and that his writings continue to be included in Communist indoctrination.

December, 1953.

A. Satellites

(Note: As will be noted in the following evidence, by the middle of August it became increasingly difficult to find references to Stalin within available overt Satellite sources. Indeed, this appeared to be more difficult than within Soviet sources. This situation may have been prompted by Satellite uncertainty as to the correct treatment to give Stalin. A suggestion of some continuing confusion was again evident in October when some divergence was noted in the Satellite treatment of the anniversary of Stalin's "Short History".)

1. Evidence not available at the time of the previous study gives additional information on the East German treatment of Stalin's role in Party indoctrination. Neuer Weg for March contained an article by Ulbricht on the "legacy" of Stalin which, he said, is comprised of Stalin's "History of the CPSU", the Party Statute of the CPSU, the great scholarly work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR", and the speech at the 19th Congress. Stalin's economic work was especially praised. On 7 August 1953, the Neue Welt carried an article on Stalin's economic work, calling it evidence of the unity of revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory. Die Neue Gesellschaft for May discussed Stalin's economic work from a technical viewpoint, relating Stalin's theories to the problems of workers.

2. An SED publishing house has put out volume IX of Stalin's works in German translation. The translation from Russian was prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the CC of the SED. (Cominform Journal, 12 June 53; note the new name of the Institute).

3. In Poland, a Polish translation of Lenin's article on Marx has been published in connection with the 70th anniversary of Marx's death. . Also published is the second bound edition of Stalin's biography translated from the revised Soviet edition. This also contains Stalin's speech to the 19th Congress, excerpts from Malenkov's report, and the message of the CC, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium. (Warsaw broadcast 16 June 1953).

4. In Albania the cycle of lectures on Stalin's economic work has been terminated. Conferences were attended by thousands—Party and mass organization cadres, as well as working people. Documents of the 19th Congress and the last work of Stalin have also been included in the programs of secondary and higher schools and in Party education. (Albanian broadcast 16 June 1953).

5. In Rumania, ideological work is being undertaken in Bucharest and the number of Party members studying Marxism-Leninism independently has grown. More than 500 tutors are delivering and holding seminars and consultations on Stalin's economic work and the materials of the 19th Congress. (Cominform Journal 19 June 1953).

6. The Slovakia Party in Czechoslovakia states that now is the period of the Soviet foreign policy of peace, international cooperation, development of trade relations with all countries—a policy based on the Lenin-Stalin thesis concerning the possibility of co-existence and peaceful competition of the two different systems. The Slovakia Party is successfully carrying out the Lenin-Stalin national policy; it is a Party of the

new Lenin-Stalin type. It is building a State where the brilliant teaching of Lenin-Stalin about equality and friendship of nations is being developed in full measure. (Cominform Journal 19 June 1953).

7. North Koreans, in discussing proletarian internationalism, say that all the world's progressive humanity consider it as their patriotic obligation to support the Soviet Union because this means that they support their own people in the fight for peace and protection of the national interests of their people. Lenin and Stalin further developed proletarian internationalism, intensifying the fight against nationalist oppression and cosmopolitanism. The 19th Congress laid down as one of its important tasks the promotion of proletarian internationalism and international friendship. (Pyongyang broadcast 15 June 1953).

8. Again in North Korea an academic meeting was held on 21 June in honor of the third anniversary of the publication of Stalin's work "Marxism and Problems of Philology." The meeting was sponsored by the Academy of Sciences and the Korean-Soviet Cultural Society. This work of Stalin arms all workers engaged in ideological and scientific studies. Thanks to Stalin's work, philology has been given exact Marxist definitions for basic problems. (Pyongyang broadcast 23 June 1953).

9. Polish youth are undertaking ideological and educational work. They are being acquainted with the life and teachings of Stalin, with the experiences and history of the CPSU, and with the fight of world youth for peace. (Warsaw broadcast 23 June 1953).

10. The current Party study year in Bulgaria included lecture centers organized for the first time in a number of big enterprises. Among those lectures which evoked particular interest were those devoted to the materials of the 19th Congress and to Stalin's book on economics. (Cominform Journal 26 June 1953).

11. A Chinese publishing house will issue in October the first volume of Stalin's works in a Chinese translation. The translation of Stalin's works was undertaken on the basis of decisions of the CC. (Cominform Journal 3 July 1953 and a Peking broadcast 3 July 1953).

12. In Albania a new edition of the "History of the CPSU(B), Short Course" appeared in 40,000 copies in the Albanian language. This book has been included in the curriculum of the Party's education network. (Cominform Journal 3 July 1953; note that there is no mention of Stalin as the author).

13. The Rumanian comment on the anniversary of the CPSU stated that the "CPSU, under the leadership of the genius, Lenin, and disciple and continuer of Lenin's cause, great Stalin, and their comrades" has achieved great victory. (Moscow broadcast on Rumania 31 July 1953).

14. In general, the Satellite comments on the anniversary of the CPSU followed the trend noted above, with particular emphasis being placed on Lenin. The Polish comment included references to the victorious banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The Czech comment referred to the "immortal Lenin and his great disciple Stalin." The Hungarian comment mentioned the genius of Lenin and his great disciple and continuer, Stalin. It also spoke of "Lenin-Stalin counsel" and the

"victorious banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin." The Bulgarian comment referred to the leadership of brilliant Lenin and the leadership of the disciple and continuer of Lenin's cause, the great Stalin. In all these comments, there was more discussion of Lenin than of Stalin, and the close similarity of words and emphasis clearly demonstrated that the Satellites had received the "line". (Factual data from Cominform Journal 31 July 1953).

15. The Moscow switch to "collective leadership" appeared most markedly toward the end of July and it was in this period that direct references to Stalin showed a sharp tapering off. This trend was echoed in China. A review of Peiping broadcasts since the Beria arrest revealed a greatly increased Chinese awareness of the Soviet emphasis on collective leadership. This was reflected in a noticeable decline in Peiping's praise of Mao's personal leadership. Yet in June and early July, Peiping's eulogies of Mao reached an all-time high. (Review of Peiping broadcasts July-August 1953).

16. The Polish Party is seeking to improve the ideological education of members. The Party must arm working people with the immortal teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. (Cominform Journal 7 August 1953).

17. The SED resolution of the 15th Plenum of the CC states that the Party is relying on the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. (Cominform Journal 7 August 1953).

18. The Bulgarian Party is beginning preparations for the new academic year. The curriculum of courses and seminars include key questions in the history of the CPSU, in the history of the Bulgarian CP, and study of works by Lenin and Stalin. Regarding the academic year which is ending, the study of Stalin's economic work stimulated Party cadres and non-Party intelligentsia to broaden and deepen their knowledge of political economy. (Gominform Journal 14 August 1953).

19. As an indication of the upsurge of Lenin, it is interesting to note that in Poland an edition of the 7th volume of Lenin's works has just appeared. It is a translation from the 4th Russian edition which was prepared for publication by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the CC of the CPSU. (Factual data from Warsaw broadcast 17 August 1953).

20. Likewise, the publishing house of the Bulgarian Party has published the first volume of the collected documents of the All-Union Communist Party Bolshevik, and the resolutions adopted at the conferences and plenary sessions of the CC in accordance with the 6th Supplementary Russian edition of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. (Sofia broadcast 19 August 1953; note that this Party publication would appear to concentrate primarily on Lenin, for the first volume contains material of the period between 1898 and 1925).

21. In China, cadres of the People's Governments of various administrative areas and cities are making preparations for the study of "the history of the All-Union Communist Party" as part of their ideological training program. (Nanking broadcast 21 August 1953).

22. The Bulgarian Party has published the brochure put out by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the CPSU entitled "Fifty Years of the CPSU; 1902-1953." Some 40,000 copies have been published. (Sofia broadcast 21 August 1953; this "history" contains very little mention of Stalin's role of leadership).

23. The 23rd volume of the works of Lenin has just been issued in a Rumanian translation by the publishing house of political literature. (Agerpress, Bucharest 22 August 1953; this evidence is included as another representative example of the trend toward Lenin and the difficulty of finding references to Stalin's works).

24. Bulgaria has published the 29th and 30th volume of Lenin's works. (Sofia broadcast 27 August 1953; another example of Lenin).

25. In China, it is reported that all senior cadres of Kiangsu Provincial Government have been required to study the "Soviet Economic Problems of Socialism" written by Stalin. (Nanking broadcast 28 August 1953).

26. In East Germany, Stalin's "Short History" was eulogized and Stalin praised with the old time terms of veneration. (Factual data from Taegliche Rundschau, 1 October 1953).

27. In the Rumanian comment on the anniversary of the 19th Congress of the CPSU, reference is made to Stalin's economic work. The comment says that this work is a sure guide for the peoples of the Soviet Union who are building Communism and the peoples of the People's Democracies who are building socialism. (Bucharest broadcast 5 October 1953).

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28. The Hungarian comment on the anniversary of the 19th Congress of the CPSU referred to Stalin, "the great follower of Lenin," who delivered his last public speech at the Congress. This speech was received with great interest and enthusiasm not only in the USSR but in the entire world. (Szabad Nep, 5 October 1953).

29. There appeared to be considerable divergence in the Satellite treatment of the anniversary of Stalin's "Short History". The entire Albanian press devoted editorials to the anniversary and some Hungarian newspapers did the same. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, where some slight mention was made of the anniversary, no other indications were noticed. (Review of Satellite media, 2 October 1953).

30. On the anniversary of the 19th Congress of the CPSU, some of the Satellite radios gave the anniversary lengthy commentaries, although apparently only Hungary highlighted Stalin's role. Only Albania appeared to have formally marked the anniversary of Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." (Review of Satellite media during the week ending 7 October 1953).

31. In Czechoslovakia, the State publishing house of political literature has published 20,000 copies of J. V. Stalin's speech at the 19th Congress of the CPSU, explaining the tasks of the Communist and Workers Parties in the fight for peace, democracy, and socialism. (Prague broadcast 27 October 1953).

32. Reports of the party at the Soviet Embassy in Peking on 7 November 1953 showed a revival of the practice of emphasizing Mao's personal leadership. This emphasis had declined after the arrest of Beria, and Chinese

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treatment of Mao had tended to follow the Soviet lead in de-emphasizing personal leaders. At this party, however, the toasts to Malenkov did not reach the eulogies formerly directed at Stalin. (Factual data from Peking broadcast, 7 November 1953).

33. The publishing house of the Bulgarian CP has issued a Bulgarian edition of 25,000 copies of J. V. Stalin's "Problems of Leninism" and an edition of 50,000 copies of "A Short Biography of J. V. Stalin." (Sofia broadcast 17 November 1953).

34. In Poland, an exhibition of the works of the students of the Fine Arts Academy in Warsaw, under the title "Stalin—Friend of the Polish Nation," was held from November 7 to 14. Prizes were awarded to the best works in the exhibition. First prize in painting was given to a work called "Stalin at Kronstadt." In sculpture, the prize went for "Stalin at Tsaritsin." In graphic arts, first prize was awarded for a portrait of Stalin. (Warsaw broadcast 18 November 1953).

35. In their extensive praise of the Soviet 1936 Constitution on Constitution Day, none of the Satellites, except North Korea, referred to it as the "Stalin Constitution" as has been the case in past years. (Review of Satellite media, 5-6 December 1953).

36. In Albania, the 10th volume of the complete works of Stalin in the Albanian language was recently published. This was done in conformity with the decision of the Politburo of the CC of the Albanian Workers Party. (Tirana broadcast, 2 December 1953).

37. The Satellites mentioned Stalin's birthday (21 December 1953). In East Germany, the paper Tribuene, the weekly Der Freie Bauer, and several broadcasts commemorated Stalin's birthday. A ceremony took place at the Maxim Gorki Theater, Berlin. The Leipzig Central German Regional Service commemorated the event, and carried an item in which Malenkov was described as "the loyal pupil of Stalin."

38. Budapest radio commemorated Stalin's birthday briefly, and so did Sofia which referred to socialist competition being launched in honor of Stalin within the Stalin dam building collective. All children of primary school number 63 in Sofia which is named after Stalin heard lectures devoted to their patron. (Hungarian and Rumanian radio reports, 21 Dec. 1953). On 21 December 1953 a meeting was held by a Bulgarian Army detachment in honor of Stalin. (Sofia broadcast, 22 December 1953). The feature program "Stalin--Our Battle Banner" concluded with poems devoted to Stalin and the statement that "Stalin remains in the heart of the Soviet people" and "that his name is the banner of the Bulgarian people". (Sofia, 22 December 1953).

39. Stalin's birthday was celebrated in Peking. A forum on Stalin's teachings was held jointly by the Peking Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the All-Union (USSR) Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In Shanghai, representatives of people's organizations and Sino-Soviet Friendship Association members attended a (similar) forum on 19 December 1953. (Peking broadcast, 22 December 1953).

B. Western Communist Parties

(Note: In the western world, a study of available material indicated a greatly reduced attention paid to Stalin but it was not apparent that the Western Communist Parties have as yet embraced the "Lenin emphasis" to the extent shown by the Satellites and the USSR. Western Communist Parties have undoubtedly felt some confusion regarding the proper treatment of Stalin and this probably accounts for the paucity of reference material).

1. Additional evidence on treatment afforded Stalin has been noted in France. Although a screening of L'Humanite for the period January to May 1953 revealed a systematic effort to publicize Stalin's works, coverage of the period May - 15 July turned up no evidence of a continuing drive in that direction. The name of Stalin figured prominently only in the Stalin "Promotion" membership drive.

2. In Belgium coverage of Le Drapeau Rouge for the period 16 April-15 July 1953 revealed a marked decrease in advertising of Stalin's works. A shift of emphasis in advertising was noted toward works by Engels and Lenin. The chief editor of the paper, however, continued to refer periodically to Stalin's works.

3. In the Netherlands only two references to works by Stalin were found in De Waarheid in the period 8 April - 16 July 1953. During March and early April, Stalin's works had been frequently advertised.

4. In June, 1953, Communists in Guatemala were found distributing literature which included Stalin's economic work and his speech at the 19th Congress of the CPSU.

5. In June, 1953, it was reported that certain Party members in France had been especially appointed to edit the complete works of Stalin in 14 volumes.

6. The Communist Review in the UK in June, 1953, contained a long article on Stalin and quoted from his works, including his economic work. The article concluded that Stalin "takes his place in history, the greatest man of our time." This same edition contains a backpage notation that the first volume of Stalin's works is now available in English; this volume covers the period 1901-1907 and is scheduled for review in the next issue of the publication.

7. In Trieste the Communist Youth Federation, preparing for its attendance at the Bucharest youth festival in August, planned a "Stalin Fund." (June, 1953).

8. To the plenum of the CC of CP France in June, Thorez said that the camp of socialism is becoming stronger whereas the decadence of the capitalist world is becoming more evident. Thorez reminded his audience that Stalin, in his last work, advised Communists to see not only the outward phenomena but also the forces now operating imperceptibly which will determine the course of developments. (Cominform Journal 19 June 1953).

9. The Pernambuco State Committee of the Brazilian Party reported those tasks which the Party will undertake to improve itself and stated that it was taking into account the wise words of Stalin in turning to these tasks. (June, 1953).

10. French Party leader, Duclos, writing about the unity of the working class in France, stated that what is needed is a Party armed with the invincible teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. (Cominform Journal 26 June 1953).

11. The Austrian Party paper, commenting on events in East Germany and elsewhere, said that these merely reflect the transition between two states of socialist reconstruction. The new reorientation is a new course designed to satisfy requirements of the people. This is in strict accordance with the platform of the 19th Congress CPSU and with the theories laid down in Stalin's latest treatise on economics. (Volksstimme 9 July 1953).

12. Italian Party leader, Togliatti, writing on the Italian elections, referred to the peace initiative of the Soviet Union—the policy of peace and of easing the international tension pursued for many years by Stalin and further developed by the comrades now heading the Soviet Union. (Cominform Journal 10 July 1953).

13. In Finland the Party is organizing seminars to step up mass political work in factories. Curricula are arranged to enable agitators to master theories of Marxism-Leninism. The most successful of the seminars was in Helsinki where close attention was given theoretical questions, including Stalin's last work and the 19th Congress CPSU materials. (Cominform Journal, 24 July 1953).

14. The French Party, commenting on the anniversary of the CPSU, mentions Lenin as a leader of the CPSU and does not refer to Stalin at all. (Factual data from Cominform Journal, 31 July 1953).

15. No evidence was found in Iceland of an indoctrination program in Stalin's name being conducted by the Party this summer. Books listed for sale by the Communist youth organization did not mention any works by Stalin.

16. In a long article by Reimann, chairman of the KPD of West Germany, on the struggle of the Party for peace and unity of the country, one brief mention is made of Stalin. He states..."Lenin and Stalin teach us that we must explain the policy of the Party to the masses in our everyday explanatory work." (Cominform Journal, 23 October 1953).

17. Discussing the essence of Socialist economy, a CP publication in the UK states that a priceless contribution to the struggle of all workers was made in Stalin's distillation of the experience of this quarter century of socialist construction—his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." The article goes on to praise this book because of the path it shows to Communism. (World News and Views, dated 3 October 1953).

C. Middle and Far East, and Colonial Areas

(Note: After July, 1953, little pertinent evidence has been available from these areas. Stalin's role in Party indoctrination remains evident, however.)

1. A Bengali (India) Communist daily newspaper published in installments beginning 8 March 1953, a complete translation into Bengali of Stalin's economic work. Readers were told that this was an "immortal book" and were exhorted to save the newspaper issues. This same paper also carried a notice that Stalin's address to the 19th Congress CPSU was published in a special issue of the Calcutta monthly Soviyet Dosh. (Review of Swadhinata March, 1953).

2. Also in India, a Urdu-language Party daily carried advertisements that Stalin's economic work and his address to the 19th Congress CPSU, both translated into certain Indian languages, were available from the Tass representative in New Delhi. (Review of Naya Zamana, March 1953).

3. The Tudeh Party in Iran is reported to be emphasizing works by Stalin in its April program for the training of cadre classes. (April 1953).

4. Concerning the struggle of people in African colonial areas, a member of the French Party said that the enslavement and systematic robbery of the people of other countries, particularly the backward countries, is one of the chief means employed by the capitalists for amassing maximum profits. The French colonies provide vivid illustrations of this feature of the basic economic law of modern capitalism. This is

just what Stalin teaches in his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR". (Cominform Journal, 3 July 1953).

5. The publishing house of the Greek CC has issued in Greek translation volume XI of Stalin's works. (Cominform Journal, 10 July 1953).

6. Among Japanese Communists, Stalin's economic work has aroused deep interest. Several editions of this work have been published. The CC has called upon members to study this work and has charged members working in the field of political economy the task of compiling a textbook on economic problems based on Stalin's theses. Stalin's work is recommended as a textbook in the Party's education program. Lectures, talks, classes, seminars, etc. are being held on this work; other works by Stalin will be published. (Cominform Journal, 10 July 1953).

7. Vietnam Party members are undertaking studies of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Malenkov's report to the 19th Congress CPSU, the works of Mao Tse-tung, and the writings of Ho Chi Minh are also being studied. (North Korean broadcast, 24 July 1953).

8. In early November, the Tudeh Youth Committee in Iran was reportedly advised to read and study the recently published biography of Stalin and that examinations would be given on this work.

D. USSR and General References

(Note: Although the following evidence will indicate the extent to which direct references to Stalin have declined, it will also indicate that Stalin's name still appears, most often in the context of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin and in general references to teachings of Communism. There is no evidence that Stalin's contributions to "Marxism-Leninism" do not continue to be embraced by the CPSU. Based on available evidence, Stalin's role as theoretician is still intact).

1. The Kiev Town Party Committee held a seminar for the secretaries of the primary Party organization at which lectures on Stalin's economic work were given. Also given were lectures on the international position of the Soviet Union as well as on Party organization and political work. (Kiev broadcast, 6 June 1953).

2. The Karaginskiy Rayon Party organization is broadening the knowledge of the Marxism-Leninism theories and raising the ideological and political level of the workers. During the 1952-53 school year, Communists and Komsomol members have taught at the rayon party school and thoroughly covered the materials of the 19th Congress and Stalin's economic work. (Petrovsk broadcast, 10 June 1953).

3. In a lecture to Soviet armed forces, it is stated that a socialist society is governed by the fundamental economic law of Socialism discovered by Comrade Stalin, the essential features and requirements of which prescribe that the constantly mounting material and cultural needs of the entire community be satisfied to a maximum extent. (Volga broadcast, 12 June 1953).

4. In a long article on the academic studies of Marxism-Leninism being undertaken by Communists everywhere, the only direct reference to Stalin is in the statement that Communists are studying and propagating the great ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. (Factual data from Cominform Journal, 19 June 1953).

5. In an article on the force of Marxism-Leninism, it is stated that Stalin continued Lenin's work, creatively developing the Marxism-Leninism theory in application to new historical conditions. (Pravda 2 July 1953).

6. Discussing how the Marxism-Leninism heritage shapes Party policy, it is stated that Stalin is the continuer of Lenin and in his works may be found an answer to the most vital questions of the contemporary struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism. (Moscow broadcast, 2 July 1953 of Pravda editorial).

7. In an article about the USSR as the mainstay of peace and security of peoples, the great driving force is said to be the CPSU, founded and tempered by Lenin and by the continuer of Lenin's cause, Stalin. (Cominform Journal, 3 July 1953).

8. A commentary from the Ukraine mentions Stalin as the continuer of Lenin's cause. In speaking of the greatness of the CPSU, the commentary states that the Communist path is enlightened by the great teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. (Kiev broadcast, 3 July 1953).

9. A long article praising the CPSU refers to the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin as the powerful ideological weapon of the Party. The

CPSU is guided by the great teachings of these men. Stalin is referred to as the continuer of Lenin's cause and one who strengthened the Party ideologically and organizationally. Reference is made to the Lenin-Stalin national policy. Stalin is quoted on knowledge of how to act collectively. Reference is made to Lenin-Stalin principles. Stalin's economic work is mentioned as an outstanding contribution toward the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. Stalin is referred to as the pupil and comrade in arms of Lenin. (Pravda, 4 July 1953).

10. A commentary states that a striking example of the creative attitude toward Marxism was given by Lenin and Stalin, who brilliantly developed the Marxist theory in its relation to new historical circumstances and raised it to unprecedented heights. Stalin's economic work is said to be of an outstanding importance for the development of Marxism-Leninism and for all the practical activities of the Party. (Moscow broadcast, 8 July 1953).

11. An article about the CP as the organizing and inspiring force of Soviet society states that it has traversed a glorious path under the leadership of Lenin, and under the leadership of the great Stalin, disciple and continuer of Lenin's cause. (Cominform Journal, 17 July 1953).

12. In an article on the unity of the CPSU, it is said that the CPSU grew into a mighty force under the leadership of Lenin and the leadership of Stalin, pupil and continuer of the cause of Lenin, and under the leadership of their colleagues. Reference is made to Lenin-Stalin consistency in exposing Beria. (Cominform Journal, 17 July 1953).

13. As evidence of a slackening of direct references to Stalin, a long article on Poland contains no mention of Stalin although the article discusses economic successes in State economic planning and also the anniversary of the liberation of Poland by the Red Army. Also, in a long article about Hungary, the only reference to Stalin is found in the phrase "the teaching and ideas elaborated by Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin". (Factual data from Cominform Journal, 24 July 1953).

14. During the week ending 5 August 1953, considerable propaganda was devoted to the 50th anniversary of the CPSU. A striking feature of the comment regarding the anniversary was the subsidiary role ascribed to Stalin in making Soviet history in comparison with the treatment of Lenin. The long anniversary article in Pravda for 28 July 1953 mentioned Stalin only 4 times, and attributed to the Party the supreme role in Soviet affairs during Stalin's lifetime. Stalin is, however, referred to as the continuator of Lenin's work and is quoted to support Lenin. Stalin is credited with creative contributions to Marxism and his name appears in the title of the CPSU theoretical Institute. Referring to the period after Lenin's death, the article stated...."The CP, under the leadership of the CC, headed by J. V. Stalin, the great continuer of V. I. Lenin's work, routed the traitors and capitulators, defended Leninism and took the firm course of building socialism." And....."Generalizing the wealth of experience in building socialism in the USSR and the experience of the modern liberation movement, J. V. Stalin creatively developed the Marxism-Leninism doctrine in application to new

historical conditions and enriched revolutionary theory with new theses on many questions." Although the reduced attention to Stalin was marked and his role in Soviet history greatly minimized, the Pravda "history" did not signalize any change in Party policy. Also during the week ending 5 August, another article on "collective leadership" appeared in Pravda. This article stressed the necessity of eradicating "from the Party's propaganda work incorrect un-Marxist treatment of the question of the role of the individual personality in history." (Soviet press during week ending 5 August 1953).

15. A short article, devoted to the 50th anniversary, appeared in the Cominform Journal and was based on the Pravda history of the CPSU. It, too, contained many more references to Lenin than to Stalin. Mention of Stalin was noticeably curtailed in the discussion of the post World War II years in CPSU history. (Factual data from Cominform Journal, 31 July 1953).

16. In a speech on the virtue of Party membership, Rzhanev made only slight reference to Stalin, once quoting him on the greatness of Lenin and then referring to him only in the phrase, "the doctrines of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin." (Moscow broadcast, 12 August 1953).

17. In the re-print of Malenkov's speech to the Supreme Soviet, only one reference to Stalin was found.... "Lenin, the genius, our father and teacher, and by the continuer of his cause, the great Stalin." (Cominform Journal, 14 August 1953).

18. Again, in an article concerning the USSR as guardian of peace and security, the only reference to Stalin concerns the banner of Marxism-Leninism "which was raised aloft by Lenin, the genius, and by the continuer of his cause, the great Stalin." (Cominform Journal, 14 August 1953).

19. A long broadcast was made on the need for Party leaders to consult and listen to the masses. The experience of an individual is not sufficient for correct leadership. The Party leader must always supplement his experience with the experience of the Party rank and file, the experience of the Party aktiv, and the experience of the people. The founder of the Party, Lenin, and the continuer of Lenin's cause, great Stalin, always taught Party leaders to listen to the masses and to attract them to the Party. Stalin used to say that from experience one learns that out of 100 single-handed decisions, unchecked and untried collectively, about 90 are chance decisions. (Ukraine broadcast of Radyanska Ukraina editorial, 19 August 1953).

20. Discussing the creative force of Marxism-Leninism, reference is made to the great ideas and policies of the wise teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. (Moscow broadcast, 25 August 1953).

21. At a plant in the Ukraine, the unveiling of a monument to Stalin took place. The Director of the plant delivered a speech saying that Stalin, together with the great Lenin, struggled to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Ukraine broadcast, 5 September 1953).

22. In a broadcast on heightening the level of teaching social sciences, it is stated that the first and foremost tasks of lecturers as well as those of Party committees and higher educational institutions are to organize widespread propaganda and to clarify to the students those most important political documents of the Resolutions of the 19th Party Congress; the decisions of the July plenary session of the CC of the CPSU; the theses of the Dept. of Propaganda and Agitation of the CC of the CPSU and the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institution in connection with the 50th anniversary of the CPSU; the speech of the head of the Soviet Government, Comrade G. M. Malenkov, at the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—documents which mark a new, powerful upsurge in all the ideological work of the Party. The tasks in teaching social science consist now in giving the students a correct picture of the role of the masses, to explain correctly the role of personality. (Georgian broadcast, 12 Sept. 1953).

23. Studies for the new Party school year will begin in October. One cannot be satisfied with the results of last year's schooling. In the practice of propaganda work, simplification and vulgarization of Marxism-Leninism have been tolerated concerning the role of the popular masses, the Party, and the individual in history. The instructions of the CC of the CPSU given in the decision connected with the publication of the "Short Course of the History of the CP (Bolshevik)" have been forgotten; these instructions pointed out that the history of the Party should be expounded not around separate individuals and their biographies, but on

the basis of the broad basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of historical facts. Party propaganda frequently has tended toward the cult of personality. In practice, propaganda work has manifested a happy-go-lucky attitude toward the study of such important Party documents as the decisions of the Party congresses, conferences, and plenary sessions of the CC which express the internal and external policy of the Party worked out over many years. The problem of Party propaganda consists in rooting out from the practice of our propaganda work any digression from Marxism-Leninism in the question of the role of the people—the creator of history—and the role of the CP as a leading and guiding force of the Soviet people in the struggle for Communism. Cadres must study hard in such a manner for the training of leadership. (Moscow broadcast, 26 September 1953 of a Pravda editorial).

24. In outlining the shortcomings in Party education, Pravda criticizes the reading of "pamphlets" instead of studying "original sources" such as decisions of Party congresses and plenary sessions of the CC. (Pravda, 26 September 1953; note similarity to above item).

25. The 15th anniversary of the Stalin "Short History" was virtually ignored by Soviet propaganda in comparison to treatment of past anniversaries. As of 2 October 1953, there had been only a brief commemorative article broadcast to Greece, Macedonia, Serbo-Croatia, and Slovenia. There had been no central internal Soviet broadcasts on the anniversary nor any indication from press reviews that there was comment in the central press. The Tass file to the provincial press similarly ignored the anniversary. Only two regional items were noted, both from Tashkent. (Review as of 2 October 1953).

26. In the Moscow broadcast to Greece on the anniversary of the "Short History", the book was praised and its advent called a great event. There was no mention, however, of Stalin as the author. The broadcast was devoted largely to the CP and the commentary included the statement.... "The CP, directed by the CC and led by J. V. Stalin, the great continuer of the work of V. I. Lenin, smashed traitors and appeasers." (Moscow broadcast, 1 October 1953).

27. The first anniversary of the publication of Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" went virtually unobserved by the Soviet radio and press as of 5 October 1953. (Review as of 5 October 1953).

28. Although decisions of the 19th Party Congress were mentioned in various broadcasts in connection with the anniversary, Soviet propaganda avoided commemorative mention of Stalin's role at that gathering. Stalin's Congress speech was referred to only once, in a regional broadcast from Yakutsk. (Review as of 7 October 1953).

29. On 5 December, Soviet broadcasting stations devoted most of their attention to the USSR Constitution Day. Great stress was laid on the national, economic and cultural advantages gained under the Soviet Constitution. Unlike previous years, however, when the Constitution had been called the "Stalin Constitution" and Stalin extensively hailed as the father of the Constitution, only one reference to Stalin was noted this year. This occurred in a Ukrainian broadcast in which he was cited as introducing the motion on the Constitution before the Soviets. (Factual data from a review of Soviet broadcasts, 5-6 December 1953).

30. No mention of Stalin's birthday was made in Soviet propaganda. This contrasts with moderate attention given to Lenin's birthday. Pravda's editorial on the announcement of peace prize winners does not mention Stalin personally as last years editorial did. (Factual data from a review of Soviet broadcasts, 14-20 December 1953).

31. On 22 December 1953, Moscow, Soviet European Service in Finnish carried the speech of a member of the Finnish Artist's delegation, "speaking outside Stalin's birthplace," and eulogizing Stalin. (Moscow broadcast, 22 December 1953).